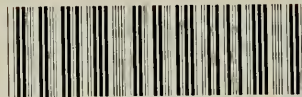


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SPEECH
OF
GOV. OLIVER P. MORTON
AT THE
UNION STATE CONVENTION
HELD AT
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
FEBRUARY 23, 1864.

25-10

U.S. A.

1864

In introducing the written matter of his speech, after thanking the Convention for the honor done him, and declaring his determination to make it the pledge of his best efforts in the future, he said that in times like the present, and in view of the great events whose issue depends on wise deliberation and energetic action, men are to be considered as nothing and measures every thing. If any man, having been tried, is found incapable, inefficient or unfaithful, he should be set aside. If we fail in this great struggle, then all is lost. If the administration of National and State Governments is placed in the hands of men who favor compromise and concession to those in rebellion, which would carry with it the ultimate recognition of the independence of the Confederacy, then all for which so much blood had been shed, and so much treasure expended, the unity of the nation and her institutions, would be lost forever.

1864

It seemed an appropriate occasion to pass in review the political affairs of the State during the past two years, and as he desired not to be misapprehended or misunderstood he had taken such time as he could gain from official duties and frequent illness to put in writing what he was about to say. He then read as follows:

COPPERHEAD ACTION IN THE LEGISLATURE.

The beginning of the late session was signalized in the House by an act as absurd and insulting as it was revolutionary.

The Constitution imposes the obligation upon the Governor of communicating with the Legislature by messages from time to time, and it imposes a like obligation upon the Legislature of receiving and considering such messages. In discharge of this obligation, the Governor sent his semi-annual message to the Senate and House. The Senate received the message and ordered it to be printed, but the House refused to receive it, returned it to the Governor, and passed a resolution receiving and adopting the message of the Governor of New York. [Laughter.]

From such a beginning it was not hard to predict the end. The House had begun its Legislative course by a wanton insult to the Executive, by a flagrant violation of the Constitution, which it had, but a few hours before, sworn to support. The revolutionary policy thus inaugurated was pursued with increased violence and open disregard of Constitutional obligations. Its time was chiefly consumed by the introduction of disloyal resolutions, the utterance of factious and treasonable sentiments, intended to excite the people against the Government, and destroy its power to suppress the rebellion.

The necessary and legitimate subjects of legislation were disregarded or kept back. Aside from an appropriation for their own per diem and mileage, which was passed on the first day of the session, every other appropriation was absolutely suppressed until Friday, the last day but one of the session, when it was known that no quorum was present in the House.—Among the appropriations which should have been made at the beginning of the session were:

First—A sufficient sum for the relief of soldiers' families.

Second—A sum sufficient to relieve the necessities and provide for the sick and wounded soldiers in the field.

Third—A sum sufficient to pay the military claims which had been allowed by the Auditing Committee, and about which there was no dispute, some of them having been standing for many months.

Fourth—A sum sufficient to pay special surgeons for services and expenses, rendered by order of the Governor, in the field.

Fifth—A sum sufficient to sustain and continue the operations of the State Arsenal; it having been shown that that institution had been profitable to the State, and of great service to the State and Government.

Sixth—A sum sufficient to pay the officers and men of the Indiana Legion, for their services rendered in protecting the border.

I am informed by Mr. Branham, who was a member of the committee of Ways and Means, that he repeatedly urged on the committee immediate action in these important matters, and also that bills appropriating money necessary for the support and operation of the State Government should be promptly brought forward, but every effort was unavailing; the legitimate business of legislation was subordinated to the great purpose of the session—to the grand scheme of the party for seizing the military power of the State, and withdrawing the State from the support of the General Government in suppressing the rebellion.

Shortly after the October election in 1862, it was given out by various Democratic politicians and papers that the Legion law would be repealed, and a new law passed depriving the Governor of all control over State arms, and stripping him of all military power whatever.

On the 17th day of February a military bill was introduced by Bayless W. Hanna, Chairman of the Military Committee in the House, in pursuance of the conspiracy formed months before. It completely overturned the Constitutional authority of the State, established a military provisional government, and placed all military power of the State in the hands of the four Democratic State Officers. It will not be improper to make a brief summary of the leading features of this remarkable measure.

First. It provided that all the arms should be placed in the custody of the Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary and Attorney General of the State, to be kept, issued or disposed of only by them.

Second. It deprived the Governor of all power to call out the Militia for any purpose whatever.

Third. It provided that the new officers to be created under this bill should be commissioned by certificates issued by the Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary and Attorney General of the State, and dispensed with commissions issued by the Governor, as is required by the Constitution of the State.

Fourth. It provided that the above named State officers should have power to appoint all Major and Brigadier Generals, and conferred upon the officers thus appointed the power to select a numerous and expensive staff.

Fifth. It provided that the four State officers, upon the requisition of the Brigadier Generals, should issue the arms to such persons as might be agreed upon without requiring bonds to be given for their preservation and return, and could thus be placed in the hands of irresponsible parties for revolutionary and treasonable purposes.

Sixth. It provided for the repeal of the present Legion law, the dissolution of all brigades, regiments and companies formed under that law, the surrender of their arms into the hands of the agents to be appointed by the four State officers, and rendered null and void all outstanding commissions in the State.

In short, this bill transferred to the four State officers the military power which was vested in the Governor by the Constitution, and

gave to them new and dangerous powers hitherto unknown to Constitutions or laws in regularly organized Governments.

They were to become four Grand Commanders, a Military Directory, a quadruple Executive.

The bill was defective in one particular, for it failed to provide for the contingency of two of these Executive Heads differing from the other two. It should have made provision in such case for referring the disputed matter to a Justice of the Peace or the decision of a Coroner's jury. [Laughter.]

The Legislative history of this bill could not be better given than in language employed by the Union members of the Legislature in their Address to the People of the State :

ACTION OF THE MINORITY.

"The Military bill had come from the midnight caucus to the House; had been printed and forced to its engrossment without the change of a word or letter; all amendments and substitutes had been voted down; all references to committees had been refused, although every other bill of a general character that had gone to a second reading had been referred to some committee; the previous question had been sustained, the gag applied, and all debate cut off, and the bill engrossed. Nothing was left for us but to sit by and see this infamous measure passed through, the revolution consummated and civil war begun, or to quietly retire and leave the House without a quorum; there was no other peaceful and constitutional remedy. If it had been left to the Courts to annul it, before the question could have been determined the law would have done its work.

The military power once in the hands of the conspirators, it would be a matter of no importance what the courts might decide; and if the question took the course of others before the Supreme Court it might be months or years before the decision was made. The path of duty was the path of safety, and we had no doubt nor hesitation as to the course we should pursue.

"We were willing and anxious, and repeatedly proposed to the majority to return and pass the appropriation bills, with all other legitimate and lawful legislation; but they replied to us contemptuously that "they intended to pass every one of their ultra measures before they took up the appropriation bills."

The Military Bill violated absolutely no less than seven plain and vital provisions of the Constitution, and subverted entirely the scheme of Government invented by the framers of that instrument. Its passage would have been an act of revolution inevitably attended by civil war and a collision with the Government of the United States.

There were doubtless a number of Democratic members in the Senate who did not sympathize with the conspiracy, and who deprecated the desperate measures in progress. But the Union members of both Houses believed that if it passed the House it would pass the Senate. The action of the majority was predetermined in secret

caucus from time to time, and the party lash laid unsparingly upon the backs of all who dared to talk of doubts or hesitated at the fearful schemes of the reckless leaders who were dictating the action of the party.

The Legislature was in session fifty out of the fifty-nine legislative days, with a quorum present in each House, during which time, as before stated, no appropriation bills were brought forward except for their own per diem and mileage, and the Union members withdrew from the House only after every other means had been exhausted to prevent the passage of the fatal measure.

Thus ended this Legislature, having made the worst record, perhaps, ever made by any Legislative Assembly in the United States. [Loud cheers.]

THE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the Legislature it was announced by the State officers that there were no appropriations for carrying on the benevolent institutions and the penitentiaries, and that no money could be drawn from the Treasury for that purpose. It was the confident expectation that I would be compelled to call back the Legislature or suspend the operations of all these institutions—but I determined to do neither. To have called back the Legislature would have been an act of madness for which I should have been condemned by every true man in the State. To have suspended the Benevolent Institutions and scattered the unfortunate inmates abroad, would have been an act of inhumanity, disgraceful to the State and to all parties concerned.

In 1858 Governor Willard, in consequence of the alleged want of appropriations for their support, suspended the Benevolent Institutions, and sent away the deaf and dumb, the blind and the insane.—This suspension took place in the month of May but on the 20th day of the November following, after the State elections had taken place, they were reopened, the inmates sent for—such as could be found—and the money taken from the Treasury for their support. In the meantime no legislation had been had and no appropriations made. If it was lawful to take money from the Treasury to carry on these Institutions after the October election, it was lawful to do it before—and their operations should never have been suspended, and the fact that after the election had passed and the time had gone by for making party capital out of their suspension, they were reopened and supported from the Treasury in the ordinary way—proves that the original act of suspension was not a necessity, but a partisan measure of the most reprehensible character. The Benevolent Institutions of the State are provided for in the Constitution of the State, and are regularly organized by statute—the people of the State have been taxed for their support, and have paid their money into the Treasury, where it now is. Whether these constitutional and legal provisions, and the collection of the money, constitute an authority

for its application, I will not undertake to determine. I can only say that in 1858 they were held to be a sufficient warrant—after the October election. Whatever might be the true aspect of the legal question, I determined to procure, if possible, sufficient money to carry on all the institutions of the State, and keep the machinery of the government in motion. This would devolve upon me great and novel responsibilities, but they were as nothing compared with those I should have assumed by suspension and failure. Money was procured from various sources—from the proceeds of the arsenal, from various counties—private persons—from one bank and one railroad company, until, I believe, sufficient funds have been secured to carry forward the State Government until the 1st of February, 1865. I am gratified to state that when the increased cost of all articles of food, clothing and materials of every kind consumed in the benevolent institutions shall have been considered, it will be found that they have been carried on at a diminished cost of ten or fifteen per cent., as contrasted with the expenditures of former years. For this I am indebted to the vigilance and economy of the superintendents of the institutions, the members of the Board of Trustees, and especially to Andrew Wallace, President of the Board.

INTEREST ON THE STATE DEBT.

I now approach the history of a transaction the most remarkable in the financial records of the State, and one which will be read hereafter with mingled indignation and astonishment.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Legislature it was bruited about that Mr. Ristine, the State Auditor, would decide that there was no existing appropriation by which the money could be drawn from the Treasury to pay the interest on the State debt, and shortly afterwards the opinion of Mr. Hord, the Attorney-General, to that effect, purporting to be addressed to Mr. Ristine, was published in the papers. This grand discovery was a surprise to everybody, and the purpose of it could not be mistaken—which was to drive me to call an extra session of the Legislature. The proposition itself was an insult to public morals and good faith, and in utter disregard of the usage and practice of the State for many years. In 1841, the State having contracted a large debt for the purpose of internal improvement, and the system having proved disastrous, failed to pay the interest upon her bonds, the credit of the State was at once prostrated in the money markets of the world, her hitherto good name everywhere affected, and her fair prospects for future prosperity and greatness blighted. Her reputation for bad faith and bankruptcy for many years caused the current of immigration to sweep around her and over her to States in the north and west, and for a series of years her growth in population and wealth was retarded. In 1846 the people of the State declared imperatively that measures must be adopted to restore her credit and do justice to her creditors. According a compromise was finally agreed upon and adopted by which her

creditors surrendered and canceled one-half of their debt, amounting to over ten millions of dollars, in consideration of which the State transferred to them the Wabash & Erie Canal and issued new stocks to them for the other half, upon which she solemnly pledged herself to pay the interest semi-annually on the first days of January and July in each year, until the principal of the debt should be paid. The arrangement was highly advantageous to the State and did much for the immediate restoration of her credit. For the creditors it was a bad one, for the Wabash & Erie Canal in a few years became worthless, and has since been practically abandoned, and they had surrendered and lost one-half of their entire claim. Legislation had in 1846 and 1847 in completion of the arrangement was regarded as a perfect and continuing appropriation from the Treasury of an amount of money sufficient to pay the interest from time to time, according to the terms of the new agreement. It was so regarded and acted upon throughout the remainder of the Administration of Governor Whitcomb, throughout the two administrations of Governor Wright, and the late administration of Governor Willard. In 1857, the Legislature having failed to make the usual appropriations for the support of the State Government, the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, then Attorney General of the State, gave it as his official opinion that while there were no appropriations authorizing the payment of money from the Treasury for the support of benevolent institutions, there was a legal and continuing appropriation for the payment of the interest on the State debt, and in accordance with this opinion Gov. Willard, in 1858, borrowed from the Sinking Fund enough money to pay the July interest, the Treasury at that time being empty. The new Constitution adopted in 1850 expressly guaranteed the payment of the principal and interest of this debt, and was regarded as of itself constituting an unalterable appropriation until the principal of the debt should be finally paid. It is true that in 1859 and 1861 the Legislature made special appropriations for the payment of this interest, but so it did also for the payment of the salaries of all the State officers, the payment of the State Printer, and for several other purposes, all of which are now paid out of the State Treasury, without specific appropriations. These appropriations were without significance, because no question had been or was then raised as to the sufficiency of the original appropriations to pay the interest on the State debt.

Justice to Mr. Brett, the Treasurer of State, requires it to be said that he did not enter readily into this scheme of repudiation, and frequently expressed his entire disapprobation of it. To secure the co-operation of Mr. Brett, and to stem the current of public indignation which was setting in strongly against the parties to this scheme, it was determined in May to procure an opinion from the Supreme Court, by which Brett could be coerced, and under which Ristine and his co-adjutors could be sheltered. Accordingly, in May, Hon. W. H. Talbot, the President of the Sinking Fund, and who, it was understood, was one of Ristine's advisers in this scheme of repudiation,

commenced a suit against Ristine in the Circuit Court of Marion county, asking for a mandamus against Ristine to compel him to issue a warrant upon the Treasurer for an amount of money sufficient to pay the approaching July interest. The Sinking Fund was the holder of a large amount of our State stocks, upon which it was the duty of Talbott to collect the interest, and the bringing of this suit was apparently in the performance of his duty. It was obvious, however, that if such a suit was brought it would be a mere sham, a concocted thing to consummate the original scheme of repudiation. The history of the case in its progress through the Circuit and Supreme Courts clearly established the truth of this opinion. The history of the case in the Circuit Court is set forth in the card of Mr. Smock, the Deputy Clerk of that Court, which I will read:

INDIANAPOLIS, May 16, 1863.

"In the case entitled The State of Indiana on the relation of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund vs. Joseph Ristine, Auditor of State, the papers were first presented to me by Mr. Hord, the Attorney General, on Monday the 11th day of May, with a request that the entry prepared should at once be entered of record, and a transcript made out and certified for the Supreme Court. This was my first knowledge of the case. Mr. Hord stated that the case had been passed upon by the Court. The papers consisted of a complaint, demurrer to complaint, answer and demurrer to answer, and of an entry in the hand-writing of the Attorney General, reciting the overruling of the demurrer to the complaint, the sustaining of the demurrer to the answer, and the judgment of the Court that a writ of mandate issue in conformity with the prayer of the complaint. The Attorney General wanted me to quit my other work and make the entry in the order-book immediately, which I refused to do, and told him that the transcript could not be made then, unless it was made from the original papers, and before the entry was made in the order-book. Mr. Hord replied that he would take it in that way. I supposed it was all right, and that everything had been ordered by the Court.

"The papers were then taken to the Clerk's office, and from them a transcript was made out and certified before any step in the case had been entered upon the order-book, and before the minutes had been read or signed. As soon as the transcript could be completed in this mode, it was handed to the Attorney General, who was waiting at the Clerk's office for it; he said as he received it, that he hoped to get a decision in the Supreme Court in a few days, and that the costs would be paid.

"After this the entry was recorded. When Judge Finch read the entry he remarked that he had not been informed of what it contained—that it had not been read to him, and if he had known its character it should not have been recorded. He struck the entry from the order-book with his own hand, and before the minutes for the day had been signed.

"W. C. SMOCK, Deputy Clerk."

This certainly beats any judicial "time" on record. The summary proceedings of the Police Courts of New York, or of the Old Bailey in London, cannot approach it. Here the pleadings on both sides had been prepared out of Court in advance, including the opinion and judgment of the Court, a record of the case procured and filed in the Supreme Court before the minutes in the Court below had been read or signed; without the character of the case having been brought to the knowledge of the Judge of the Circuit Court, who, upon being informed of what had been done, struck out the entry upon the order-book with his own hand, and, as I learn from another source, sent a communication to the Clerk of the Supreme Court, stating that the record filed with him had been improperly obtained, and that he had not decided any such case. He then took up and examined the original complaint and decided it invalid, upon the ground that the proceedings were wholly premature, the time not having arrived when action could be had upon the subject. From this last decision Talbott appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court received and retained both records, and then the case presented the very novel aspect of two appeals pending in the Supreme Court at the same time, and only case in the Court below. In a few days opinions were delivered in the Supreme Court in both cases denying the existence of any appropriations by which the interest could be paid upon the State debt. And here I leave the law suit.

In future times the legal antiquarian will pause amidst his researches to examine this case as the greatest curiosity in the annals of American jurisprudence.

The dead lock was now placed upon the Treasury. It was full of money paid into it by the people to defray the interest upon the public debt, support the Benevolent Institutions and Penitentiaries, and liquidate all the expenses incident to the operations of the State Government.

The situation was full of embarrassment and responsibility to me, and the affairs of the State were in a most critical and delicate position. To have called an Extra Session of the Legislature would have realized the hope of the repudiators. A careful examination of the designs and temper of the majority failed to present the slightest prospect that a different policy would be adopted from that which prevailed at the Regular Session, while the danger and excitement which then prevailed would be renewed with increased violence. Every Union member, so far as I could learn, was utterly opposed to an Extra Session, and I have yet to find the first Union man in this State who did not protest against such a measure as being fraught with danger and powerless for good. Determined, however, to leave no effort unmade to preserve the credit of the State, in the month of June I proceeded to New York and opened negotiations with Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. That able and distinguished house promptly offered to pay the interest if the proper evidence could be procured as to who were the stockholders entitled to receive it.

On the 24th day of June they addressed a letter to John C. Walker,

Agent of the State, elected by the late Legislature, resident in New York, informing him that they were prepared to pay the interest if he would furnish them, from the books of the Agency in his office, a list of the stockholders, or allow such list to be taken, and offering to pay the expense of having it copied. This list was made necessary by the existence of spurious Stocks issued by Stover, the former Agent, which could be detected from the genuine only by the books of the Agency. To this letter Walker replied in a long, malignant and frivolous communication, in which he assailed the Governor, and ended with refusing the list, or allowing it to be taken.

On the 26th of June they addressed him a second letter, in which they urged him to pay the interest on the State Stocks in the usual way, by issuing checks to the stockholders for the amounts due to them, upon their house, which checks they would pay upon presentation, and also expressly exonerating him from all personal liability or responsibility, for the money thus advanced.

The interest had been paid in this manner through the house of Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., for the preceding ten years, the Agent depositing his money with the house and checking upon it in favor of the stockholder.

This proposition was also abruptly rejected by Walker. I have no language to express the contempt and aversion for the conduct of Walker which must be universally entertained. No commentary can add to the intense disgust which it must inspire in every honest and intelligent mind. The office of Agent of State was created by the Act of Settlement with our creditors in 1846, to which I have before referred. Through it the interest was to be paid semi-annually in New York, and the business of the Agent was to watch over and preserve the credit of the State, and for which he receives a salary of \$2,500 a year, and \$2,500 more for office and incidental expenses.

He was not, however, entitled to the sole credit of defeating the arrangement made with Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. Mr. Ristine, the State Auditor, was present with him in New York aiding and advising, and is entitled to share the glory and responsibility of that transaction.

Walker having thus defeated the arrangements with Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., the interest on our stocks went to protest for non-payment on the 1st of July. Their value was immediately affected in the market, and the fair fame of the State again became the subject of doubt and discussion. Steps were taken to inform the stockholders, as far as possible, of the true state of the case to prevent panic and sacrifice, I pledging myself to make further efforts to effect an arrangement for the payment of the interest.

Determined not to be defeated if possible in the effort to preserve the credit of the State, I attempted to secure from other sources a correct list of the stockholders, and in this attempt succeeded in November. In the meantime the necessity for action had become more manifest and imperative than before. While the American stockholders in general had a correct knowledge of the state of affairs, and but

few stocks were changing hands or being offered in the market, the case was quite different with our stockholders in Europe. In Europe American politics are always badly understood, and the principal fact which they clearly comprehended was that they did not receive their interest. They associated this failure with that of 1841, and began to say that there was some strange fatality attending Indiana securities, and declared their intention of sending them back to America and getting clear of them at once and forever. Such a measure would have given the State a bad name abroad, seriously affecting emigration to her borders, and would have been followed by great depreciation and loss of credit throughout the United States.

Having presented the list to Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., they promptly renewed their offer, and gave public notice that they would pay the back interest which fell due in July, and afterwards gave further notice that they would pay the interest which accrued on the 1st day of January, 1864, and up to this time, as I am advised, have paid out \$280,000. The noble and generous conduct of this house should and will be appreciated by the people of Indiana, and Mr. Lanier, in his clear comprehension and able management of the affair, has displayed not only financial ability but a broad statesmanship that should put to the blush the petty and contemptible management of State officials who for partisan purposes were willing to disgrace the State before the world.

There is another transaction connected with the refusal to pay the interest on the public debt which must if possible increase the abhorrence entertained for it in the public mind. On the — day of August, Messrs. Ristine and Brett, the Auditor and Treasurer, advanced to Walker, from the State Treasury, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, to be invested by him in our war loan bonds or the State stocks, of which I have been speaking. Messrs. Ristine and Brett have also taken from the Treasury the sum of \$50,000, with which they have purchased Indiana 5 per cent. stocks, making in all the sum of \$100,000 taken from the Treasury for that purpose. We are here presented with the remarkable spectacle of State officers deciding that there is no law by which they can pay the interest on the State stocks, but finding law to take money from the Treasury for the purchase of the stocks themselves at a price depreciated by the failure to pay the interest. In what light must such a transaction be viewed among private persons in the business world. A refuses to pay his paper at maturity and then puts the money in the hands of B to buy it up at a discount. Ristine and Co. decide that it is unlawful to pay the interest on our stocks, but that it is lawful to take money from the Treasury to buy up the stocks themselves reduced in price by the failure to pay the interest. Surely the State might have been spared this last disgrace.

STATE PRINTING.

I should fail to present the conduct of the State officers in its proper light if I did not allude to their action in regard to the State Printer.

It is difficult to see upon what legal or moral ground they could refuse to advance money for the support of the Benevolent Institutions and Penitentiaries, and at the same time pay large sums of money to the State Printer; yet this was the case. When the Senate Journal of the last day of the session, Monday, was read, it was found to contain a resolution, which the minutes showed to have been adopted, appropriating twelve thousand dollars for the payment of the State Printer.

The Union members present declared that no such resolution had been read in their hearing, and that no quorum was present to pass that or any other. Be that as it may, it was but the resolution of one House. It was not a law, and had no force or validity whatever. Under the flimsy pretext of this resolution, warrants were issued to the State Printer for twelve thousand dollars, on which he drew the money. When this sum was exhausted, there was a little delay in the payments, but having become bolder, and the necessities of the editor of the Sentinel becoming greater, they dispensed with all pretext or forms of law, and paid him large sums of money from time to time, in all amounting to about twenty thousand dollars. When asked to pay for the support of the Benevolent Institutions they plead the absence of appropriations, and the terrors of the embezzlement bill. But when asked to pay the editor of a partizan newspaper, they laughed at the embezzlement bill as a good joke, and treated the plea of no appropriations as a clever thing in its way, but too trifling to interfere with the support of the newspaper organ of the party. I am informed that the Attorney General gave an opinion to the effect that it was legal to pay the State Printer. I should have been surprised if he had not.

RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD REBELS.

Passing from matters of local or State interest, the Governor next took up our national condition, and said :

It is a truth taught alike by reason and history, that the more terrible and destructive wars are made the sooner they are ended. Lingering and protracted wars are the most terrible calamities that can befall Nations. Not only do they consume the blood and substance of a Nation, but they are attended with a demoralization and dissolution of the frame-work of society more dreadful than the loss of even blood and treasure. Humanity, mercy and sound policy then dictate that war, if it must exist, shall be made terrible and destructive, that it may soon be ended, and demand that every legitimate means for that purpose shall be promptly employed.

The power of the enemy may be overcome and destroyed in two ways: First, By destroying or capturing his army in the field. Second, By withdrawing or cutting off his resources so that he shall not be able to furnish, clothe, feed, or maintain an army, and where this can be done it is quite as efficient as the former, and far less costly and bloody to both parties. The resources to which I refer

consist chiefly in arms and munitions of war, transportation, food and clothing for armies.

The first great step adopted by the Government to cut off the resources of the rebels was the blockade of their ports, and the exclusion of all foreign trade and commerce. This effort has been only partially successful, and there is good reason to believe that if its success had been complete, the rebellion would have failed before this time for want of material and supplies for carrying it on.

The question of the power of the Government to blockade the ports of the rebel States was early presented in the courts, and has been solemnly affirmed in the Supreme Court of the United States, every Judge concurring. No higher exhibition of the war power in cases of rebellion can be presented than blockading rebel ports, and treating them as the ports of a foreign enemy. The Constitution is silent upon the subject, but the Court held that the right is a necessary part of the war-making power to suppress rebellion. It was done by order of the President, and without authority or concurrent act of Congress.

An attempt has been made from the beginning to destroy rebel means of transportation and communication, by cutting up and destroying their railroads, bridges, steamboats and shipping of every kind. The right to do this has not been seriously questioned, and is a part of the war power vested in the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

But how shall the ability of the rebels to feed and clothe their armies, and clothe and subsist their families at home, be destroyed? That is a great question demanding our consideration. To answer it we must carefully consider in what that ability consists. We find that this ability consists chiefly in the labor of about four millions of negro slaves, who are employed in producing food and clothing for the families at home and the armies in the field, providing munitions of war, repairing railroads, erecting fortifications, managing baggage trains, and performing nearly all the labor in the field, the workshop and the camp. We shall find that if this slave labor could be withdrawn their armies in the field could not be fed and clothed, and that the men composing those armies would be compelled to return home and labor for their own and the subsistence of their families.

Their armies thus collapsed and dissolved, the rebellion would be ended, and with it the war and the effusion of blood.

But should there be those who deny that the withdrawal from the rebels of slave labor would be decisive upon the rebellion, yet even they are bound to confess that it would tend powerfully in that direction, and greatly contribute to destroy the vital resources of the rebels. If, then, the withdrawal of slave labor from the rebels would be so potent in its effects and disastrous to the rebellion, upon what ground can the existence of the power to do it be denied? As before stated, the right of the Government to blockade the ports of the rebellious States has been solemnly declared by the Supreme Court of the United States. The right to destroy or appropriate to the use of our own Government their railroads, bridges, shipping, growing crops, and

whatever property may be useful to us, or the loss of which would be injurious to them, is scarcely denied by the most bitter enemy of the Government. How then can the right be denied to destroy or remove the labor which has produced all these things and may restore them if they are taken away? If the right exists to destroy the resources of the enemy at all, why may it not be done in this way? It tends to the same result for which the blockade was established, and differs only in form, not in principle. And I now ask if the truth of this proposition can for a moment be denied: that if it is the opinion of the President as the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, that the institution of slavery is an element of power in this rebellion, subsisting in whole or in part their armies in the field and their families at home, and that its destruction would greatly weaken, if not ruin, their cause, he has the same right to pull it down that he has to pull down rebel fortifications, blockade their ports, cut up their railroads, destroy their crops, or do any other act which would impair or destroy the strength of the rebellion?

Some politicians seem to ignore the fact that there is a vast difference between war and peace, and insist that war shall be carried on just as we carry on peace. They do not comprehend that war, from its very nature, involves the exercise of powers, which, in times of peace, are unnecessary, and are prohibited. What sort of a war would that be which is prosecuted on peace principles? War and peace are antagonistic states, and each has its conditions, privileges, and immunities, which are antagonistic to those of the other; and while our Constitution is formed and provides mainly for peace, yet it recognizes and provides for the possibilities of war.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Assuming that the President has the right to withdraw from the rebels slave labor, even destroy the institution of slavery, if, in his opinion, he can weaken or destroy the rebellion, I come next to the consideration of the question as to the manner in which he may exercise this power. Some there are who say that, as this is a military power, it must be exercised only by armies in the field, who shall march into the slave territory and liberate the slaves from their masters, and that the President has no right to exercise it by a proclamation, which is merely a civil proceeding. To this it may be answered that making war is not confined to the use of armies and navies, and that if the fidelity of the army of an enemy or the allegiance of the inhabitants of a hostile State can be affected by proclamations or appeals, it has been considered by every nation in every age of the world, proper to resort to them, and has been the practice of mankind. If the right exists, it may be exercised in any way which shall be the most efficient or least costly. The reduction of the walls of Jericho, by the blowing of rams' horns, was certainly a novel and extraordinary method of assault, without precedent in the history of war, yet I have never learned that any casuist has denounced it as illegitimate or un-

godly on that account; and if it were proper that Jericho should be reduced and conquered in that way, sparing the effusion of blood, should it be objected that the President of the United States has attempted, by proclaiming freedom to the slaves of rebels, to weaken the power of this rebellion and thus aid in restoring peace and stopping the effusion of the best blood in our land? It is, however, highly probable that if there had been Copperheads in the days of Joshua, they would have taken issue with him on the rams' horn question, and insisted that it was a gross violation of the Ten Commandments. [Uproarious laughter and cheers.]

In time of peace there is no power vested in the President or in Congress to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. That power is drawn from its resting place in the Constitution and conferred upon the President by the rebellious conduct of the slave owners, and their own hands have forged the bolt which was launched for their destruction.

It is indeed a lofty and gratifying consideration that the exercise of this great power by the President is not only sanctioned by the laws of war and upheld by the Constitution, but is in especial harmony with the principles of Eternal Justice and the revealed word of God. Slavery having voluntarily rejected the protection of the Federal Constitution and advanced from behind the bulwarks where it had been entrenched in safety so many years, stood naked before its natural enemies—Liberty, Morals, Religion and the public safety, and has fallen pierced by a dart from each.

THE PEACE MEN AND SLAVERY.

The Governor next alluded to the Peace men and their conduct in regard to the rebellion, and said:

These men, with a few mild phrases, profess their devotion to the Union and their condemnation of the rebels and the rebellion, and rush on with an indecent haste to the bitter denunciation of those whom they denominate Abolitionists. They are men of one idea, and that idea is the preservation of the institution of slavery. They are the guardians of slavery left on duty in the Free States, while the rebellion is seeking to work out the destruction of the Government.

In their minds the whole duty of the Government is summed up in the protection of slavery at all hazards and under all circumstances. Unlike other institutions and other property, they are unwilling that slavery shall run the chances of war. However other interests may suffer, commerce be prostrated, horses and cattle, lands and goods be confiscated, to pay the penalties of treason, slavery must be insured against all violence, from all loss by the contingencies of war.

To preserve slavery harmless is to observe the Constitution in all its parts. To injure it in any respect is to infract the Constitution in every member. At a time when eleven slave States have 300,000 men in the field to destroy the Constitution and the Government

founded upon it, these Northern patriots are devoting all their energies and expending all their breath to protect the interests of slavery in these States. Against the armed rebellion they have little or nothing to say. Against the murder of our citizens upon the field of battle, whose blood is spilled that the Union may be preserved, they scarcely protest; in favor of suppressing the rebellion and procuring indemnities against the future recurrence of a like disaster, they utter not a word; but their conversations, their speeches, their papers, are an ever ascending petition that whatever calamity may befall our country, whatever sacrifice she may be called upon to make in blood and treasure, slavery shall be preserved harmless to afflict all coming generations.

The Government of the United States has in a few cases arrested and imprisoned persons, who, by speeches and writings, were striving to destroy the Government, and giving aid and comfort to the rebellion.

These arrests have been made a pretext for a combined assault upon the Government, while the rebellion, with its multiplied cruelties and horrors, without parallel in the history of civilized nations, is utterly ignored. Many thousands of Union men are languishing in Southern dungeons, treated not as State prisoners, but as felons, for no other crime than expressing their adherence to the old Constitution and the old flag. Are there no tears to shed over the horrible sufferings and persecutions of these faithful men? Does humanity exhaust its sympathies upon the few cases where Northern men have suffered brief confinement for the expression of disloyal sentiments in the encouragement of the rebellion? Are the Union men of the rebel States who have stood by the Government in the hour of trial, and whose loyalty has been tested by the dungeon, the torture and the gibbet, entitled to no consideration? The cruelties of the American savages and of Chinese warfare fade and whiten when compared with the atrocities which have been practiced by the rebels throughout this war. Union men have been murdered upon their own thresholds; they have been cast into loathsome dungeons, where they have perished from disease or starvation; they have been hung like dogs upon trees and signposts, and their bones have been fabricated into jewelry and worn as horrible souvenirs and keepsakes, as the savage would string upon his girdle the scalps of his victims.

A member of the Kentucky Legislature, in a speech in that body, at a former session, declared that after the retreat of Kirby Smith from Kentucky, he had seen one grave in which were buried twelve Union men, with the halters still around their necks.

Where among the politicians who talk thus is one who has ever raised his finger in suppression of the rebellion? Look about through the State of Indiana and find me one if you can. When the people have rushed together to consider of their country, they have stood afar off with boding looks, words of ill omen upon their tongue, and councils of discouragement for those who were about to enter the ranks of the army. When the country talked only of war, vigorous,

successful war to the putting down of the rebellion, they prated only of peace, of compromise with the rebels, and exonerated and encouraged the traitors by the declaration that the Black Republicans brought on the war, upon whom they lavished all their indignation.

The army has been raised and organized in spite of them. The young and the middle aged, heedless of their councils and their calumnies, have enrolled themselves among the defenders of their country, and put behind them the evil spirits of the time. It is true they have hung heavy on the cause; they have blackened it at every step; they have assailed all who were urging it onward; they have placed obstructions upon the track, nevertheless it has moved on, and it will until it has overwhelmed the enemies of our country. While patriots thought only of saving their country, these men have thought only of saving their party. While our soldiers have laid upon their arms to watch and seize all advantages against their foe, these men have watched only for advantages in the next State, county or township election.

THE DUTY OF THE TIMES.

The great duty of the hour, displacing and putting aside all other considerations, is the suppression of the rebellion. Until this is done all political discussions, all efforts of reconstruction, so called, are vain. When the armies of the rebellion are crushed or scattered, and resistance to the Government has ceased, we may then take counsel together as to the best method of adjusting our difficulties and starting into motion again the wheels of government in the rebel States. It would be folly, the most criminal, the most preposterous in the world's history, were we to pause amidst our efforts to discuss the terms of future settlement, while rebel armies are still in the field menacing the life of the nation. Let us, then, with united, hearty and undivided attention address ourselves to the great task of destroying the military power of the rebellion. The ranks of the army must be recruited, the Government sustained and upheld, our soldiers in the field looked after with tenderest care, their families at home sheltered and provided for out of our abundance, and our people, rising to the level of the great situation, must display that liberality, devotion and spirit of sacrifice, that can be inspired only by the conviction, that victorious we shall save country, liberty and honor, and that defeated, all these are forever lost. The hope of the Republic is in her armies. The great question must now be settled by the arbitrament of the sword. They who take the sword shall perish by the sword, and the rebellion having wickedly and madly appealed to arms in the beginning, by arms it must be utterly crushed and blotted from the nation. The man who would counsel the nation to stay the march of our victorious armies, and give the rebellion pause to recover strength and vigor, under the vain pretext of compromising

with our erring brethren, must be a traitor or a fool. Compromise implies concession on both sides, and what could we concede to them short of the independence of their Confederacy and the destruction of the Union, and what else would they ask us to concede? In the very beginning spurning all negotiations, rejecting all moral and religious considerations, the rebellion sprang to arms, and slapping the nation in the face with the mailed hand, challenged it to combat or ignominious surrender.

OUR STATE TROOPS.

While we rejoice in the bravery displayed by all the armies of the United States, it is a subject of profound congratulation that the Indiana troops have behaved with uniform and distinguished gallantry in every action in which they have been engaged. They form a part of every army in the field, and have been among the foremost in deeds of daring, while their blood has hallowed every soil.

Our troops, hitherto engaged in the peaceful pursuits of trade and agriculture, have manifested that lofty courage and high-toned chivalry of which others have talked so much and possessed so little, and which belongs only to the intelligent patriot, who understands well the sacred cause in which he draws his sword.

Indiana has already made a large investment of her best blood in the cause of the Union, and will never consent to its dismemberment or to a dishonorable peace. The bones of her sons mingle with the soil from Virginia and Missouri to Louisiana, and she will not confess that the sacrifice has been made in vain, or acknowledge that it was in an unholy cause. General Hackleman, Colonels Brown, Bass, Link, Hathaway, Wheeler, Von Trebra, King, Carroll, Lieutenant Colonels Hendricks Bachman, Keith, Gerber, Kirkpatrick, Crosswait, Topping, Wolf, Kempton, Glass, Swain, Shanklin, Sheets, Leslie, Stough; Majors Tanner Gavitt, May, Arn, Abbett, Conklin, Hill, Lemon, Finley, Mason and Parrott, and many others of lower rank, but with valor not less distinguished, have yielded up their lives upon the field that our country might be preserved. Thousands of our private soldiers, with equal courage and patriotism, have fallen, the victims of this unnatural rebellion.

They were fighting from deep convictions of duty and the love they bore their country. Their unlettered graves mark a hundred battle-fields, and our country can never discharge to their memory and their posterity the debt of gratitude it owes. Our gratitude should be testified by the tender care we take of their families and dependent ones whom they left behind, by the education of their children, and by the honor we pay to their memory.

Nor should we forget those who have perished by disease in camp or hospital. They were denied the soldier's privilege of dying in battle, but their sacrifice was none the less. To die in the field, amid

the clash of contending armies and the roar of battle, fighting in a holy cause, is glorious: but when death comes slowly on, in the loneliness and desolation of the hospital, with no mother or sister to soothe the passing spirit and minister as love only can minister, with none but the rough hand of a comrade to press the calmmy brow and perform the last offices to the dying—it is terrible.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE PAYMENT OF THE INTEREST ON
THE FUNDED DEBT OF THE STATE OF
INDIANA, DUE IN JULY, 1863.

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO. TO JOHN C. WALKER, AGT., &c.

BANKING OFFICE OF WINSLOW, LANIER, & Co., }
52 Wall St., New York, June 24, 1863. }

JOHN C. WALKER, ESQ.,

Agent of the State of Indiana, New York:

Dear Sir:—It being now quite certain that the last July interest on the Funded Debt of the State of Indiana will not be paid, for reasons publicly known. We have, at the earnest solicitation of Gov. Morton and other citizens of that State, agreed to pay the same to the holders of the certificates of indebtedness to protect the credit of the State. To do this safely to ourselves, we must take an assignment from each creditor of the amount of interest due, with power of attorney to collect the same when you are placed in funds to pay the same; to enable us to do this satisfactorily, we must have a certified copy of your pay roll for July, or list giving the names of the holders, as also the amount of dividend due to each, &c.

We therefore respectfully request that you furnish us with the same at as early a day, prior to the day of payment, as your convenience will allow. We expect to pay you all the expenses that may be incurred in and about furnishing the same.

We shall be pleased to hear from you as soon as convenient.

Yours, truly,

(Signed,)

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

[The proposition contained in the foregoing letter was declined by Mr. Walker, on the 25th of June, in a letter full of scurrility and misstatement.]

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO. TO JOHN C. WALKER.

BANKING OFFICE OF WINSLOW, LANIER & Co., }
52 Wall St., New York, June 26th, 1863. }

JOHN C. WALKER, Esq.,
Agent of the State of Indiana :

Dear Sir :—Your letter of yesterday, in reply to ours of the 24th inst., is received.

We have nothing to say in reply, save to express our regret that the State should fail in paying the interest on her Funded Debt; as to where the fault lies in the premises, is not for us to say.

It has occurred to us, however, that we could shape our request in a manner that may meet your approbation—it is this :

That you shall, in the capacity of the Agent of the State, go on and pay each creditor entitled thereto on your dividend books, taking the receipt of each in the usual form; you to draw your official check on our house to the order of each party entitled thereto, expressing on the face of each check that it is given for the July dividend on stock thus held or represented, giving the amount of such stock.

These checks we will pay, and hold the same as our vouchers, until we are reimbursed.

In this way the payments can be made in the usual manner as the Agent has always heretofore paid by drawing his check on our House, or some other house or bank in this City.

As it is necessary for us to know whether we are to advance, or not, so large a sum of money by Wednesday next, we will thank you for an early reply,

Yours truly,
(Signed,) WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

JOHN C. WALKER TO WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

OFFICE INDIANA STATE AGENCY, }
No. 36 Wall St., New York, June 26, 1863. }

MESSRS. WINSLOW, LANIER & Co.:

Gentlemen :—Your letter of this morning is received. I regret to say that a sense of duty compells me to decline acceding to your propositions.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed,) JOHN C. WALKER,
Agent of State.

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO. TO JOHN C. WALKER, AGT, &c.

BANKING OFFICE OF WINSLOW, LANIER & Co., }
52 Wall St., New York, June 27th, 1863. }

JOHN C. WALKER, ESQ.,
Agent of State of Indiana :

Dear Sir :—We yesterday received your reply to our second proposition. We should, perhaps, have said therein that we did not propose to hold you personally responsible in case you should agree to our request. We now say so.

Yours truly,
(Signed,) WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOLDIERS.

The following Memorial and Resolutions were adopted by the Officers and Soldiers of the Indiana Regiments in the Army of the Cumberland, and sent to the Indiana Legislature, by a special messenger, during their session of 1863 :

To the General Assembly of the State of Indiana :

The undersigned officers and soldiers of the Indiana Volunteer Regiments, submitting with patriotic self-denial to the policy which denied us a voice in the late election, and approving the wisdom of that feature of our Government which secures the civil freedom from the influence of the military power, nevertheless desire to participate in the preliminary councils which are to shape the popular ideas of the State, and consequently to control the actions of its Representatives in the General Assembly. We speak, as soldiers, because our lives are staked upon the issue of the present struggle; as citizens, because, at no distant day, those of us who survive are to share with you the responsibilities of citizenship, and to experience, in common with the people at home, the results of your present deliberations.

Whatever prejudice may exist against any interference of the military in the affairs of State, certainly even the most vigilant guardian of the public interest could not expect the army to await with indifference the result of deliberations which involve not only the common interests of the people, but also the lives and fortunes of those who have taken up arms to defend the integrity of the Union in a contest with our common foe in the field.

Defeat strips the citizen of his fortune and political enjoyment; the soldier of both these, and his honor, and, it may be, his life.

It requires no argument to convince an intelligent mind that a war sustained by a united people, and waged with that energy and determination which proceeds only from undivided councils, presents a less fearful array of casualties, with a better hope of success, than a sluggish contest waged by a party and merely sustained in the wrangling of factions at home. In other words, it requires more lives to sustain a Government hampered and restricted by the jealousy of political party, than to sustain one supported by the voice of a united people; as well might you

expect the fettered victim to struggle successfully with his untrammelled opposer, as to hope for a nation to subdue its enemies when its energies are cramped by the unwise restrictions of a doubtful majority. To live in spite of disease, every function must be characterized by the utmost vigor, and all unite against the enemy who seeks in the destruction of one the certain ruin of all.

Believing then, that, as soldiers, we have a deeper interest in the present struggle than you can possibly have as citizens—and, further, that the influence of military life has not unfitted us for the high duties of citizenship, we present ourselves before your Honorable Body as petitioners, without apology. We come boldly, asking only what we have a right to expect, either as citizens or soldiers, battling for the integrity of the Union.

We ask simply that you will give this war a cheerful and hearty support; that you will strengthen and energize every department of government that this unhappy struggle may be pressed to a successful termination; that you will pour out the treasure of the State as your soldiers have poured out their blood on the field of battle, to aid in the holy cause of restoring the Union of our fathers; that you will abstain from heated political discussions and violent party wranglings, until the authority of our Government is once more established; that you will resist the *infernal* spirit which would waste victory in humiliating compromise, or render temporary reverses a pretext for the alienation of an unoffending community; that you will sacrifice everything, except liberty and political equality, to national integrity; that you will sustain all the officers of the State and General Government in their efforts to subdue this unholy rebellion, and, especially, that you will sustain our worthy Governor, whose every energy, during the past two years, has been so entirely devoted to the cause of the Government and its supporters.

We appeal to you, especially, to sustain him, for the reason that it is chiefly to his unceasing care and labor, exhibited in arming and supporting the troops of Indiana, that we have to attribute our present proud position among the loyal States of the Union—and for the further reason, that he has demonstrated by his acts that he is an earnest and zealous patriot, devoting his time with untiring energy to the glorious cause for which we are battling. We appeal to you, as our Representatives, to encourage him in the good work of ministering to the wants of our unfortunate comrades who have been stricken down in the strife of the battle-field and by the cruelty of relentless disease; that you will confer on him all the necessary authority, and place in his hands the requisite means to carry out the good work which he has begun, remembering that one human life is worth all the treasure of the proudest State.

In conclusion, we propose the following resolutions to be adopted by the Legislature of Indiana, and to constitute the basis of all those acts bearing upon the interests involved in the foregoing address.

1. *Resolved*, That we are unconditionally and determinedly in favor of the Union.
2. *Resolved*, That in order to the preservation of the Union we are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war.
3. *Resolved*, That we will sustain our State and Federal authorities with money and supplies, in all their efforts to sustain the Union and prosecute the war.
4. *Resolved*, That we will discountenance every faction and influence tending to create animosities at home, or to afford consolation and hope to our enemies in arms, and that we will co-operate *only* with those who will stand by the Union, and by those who are fighting the battles of the Union.
5. *Resolved*, That we tender to His Excellency, Governor O. P. Morton, the thanks of his grateful friends in the army, for his extraordinary efforts in their behalf, and assure him that neither time nor the corrupting influence of party spirit, shall ever estrange the soldier from the soldier's friend.

TO THE DEMOCRACY OF INDIANA.

The following stirring appeal has been addressed to the Democracy of Indiana by their companions-in-arms in Arkansas:

Having a deep interest in the future glory and welfare of our country, and believing that we occupy a position in which we can see the effects of the political struggles at home upon the hopes and fears of the rebels, we deem it to be our duty to speak to you openly and plainly in regard to the same.

The rebels of the South are leaning on the Northern Democracy for support, and it is unquestionably true that unjustifiable opposition to the Administration is "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." While it is the duty of patriots to oppose the usurpation of power, it is alike their duty to avoid captious criticisms, that might create the very evils which they attempt to avoid.

The name of *Democrat*, associated with all that is bright and glorious in the history of the past, is being sullied and disgraced by demagogues, who are appealing to the lowest prejudices and passions of our people. We have nothing to expect from the South, and nothing to hope, without their conquest. They are now using their money freely, to subsidize the press and politicians of the North, and with what effect, the tone of some of our journals, and the speeches of some of our leaders, too plainly and painfully testify.

We see, with deep solicitude and regret, that there is an undercurrent in Indiana tending toward a coalition of the Northwest with the South against the Eastern States. Be not deceived. Pause, for the love you bear to your country, and reflect. This movement is only a rebel scheme in disguise, that would involve you, alike with themselves, in the crime of rebellion, and bring to your own hearthstones the desolation of a French Revolution. Separation on either side, with peace in the future, is impossible, and we are compelled by self-interest, by every principle of honor, and every impulse of manhood, to bring this unholy contest to a successful termination.

What! admit that we are whipped? That twenty three millions of Northern men are unequal to nine millions of the South? Shame on

the State that would entertain so disgraceful a proposition! Shame upon the Democrat who would submit to it, and raise his cowardly voice and claim that he was an Indianian! He, and such dastards, with their offspring, are fit "mud sills" upon which should be built the lordly structure of their Southern aristocracy! And with whom would this unholy alliance be formed? With men who have forgotten their fathers, their oaths, their country and their God; with guerrillas, cotton-burners; with those who force every male inhabitant of the South capable of bearing arms into the field, though starving wives and babes are left behind! Men who persecute and hang, or drive from their lines, every man, woman and child who will not fall down and worship the Southern god. And yet free-born men of our State will sympathize with such tyrants, and dare even to dream of coalition! Indiana's proud and loyal legions number at least seventy thousand effective men in the field, and, as with one great heart, we know they would repudiate all unholy combinations tending to the dismemberment of our Government

In this dark hour of our country's trial, there is but one road to success and peace, and that is *to be as firmly united for our Government as the rebels are against it*. Small differences of opinion amount to nothing in this grand struggle for a nation's existence. Do not place even one straw in the way, and remember that every word you speak to encourage the South, nerves the arm and strikes the blow which is aimed at the heart's blood of our brothers and kindred.

ALVIN P. HOVEY, Brigadier General.

WILLIAM T. SPICELY, Col. 34th Ind.

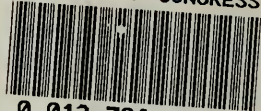
WILLIAM E. McLEAN, Col. 43d Ind.

GEORGE F. MCGINNIS, Col. 11th Ind.

JAMES R. SLACK, Col. 47th Ind.

Helena, Arkansas, February 2, 1863.

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